

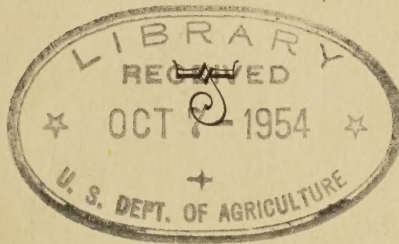
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**Agricultural Extension Services
Among Negroes In The South**

By

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Howard University
Washington, D. C.
March, 1942



⁸
Including Also

Extension Work With Negroes

Statement issued by U. S. Secretary of Agriculture,
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Agricultural Extension Services Among Negroes In The South

(Report prepared for the Conference of Negro Land Grant College
Presidents)

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The war crisis which confronts America has raised to a new plane of national significance the traditional neglect of agricultural extension work among Negroes.¹ The problem can no longer be viewed solely in terms of its implications for the Negro people. Its immediate solution has now become imperative for the safety of the nation as a whole. Indeed, it is an essential means to victory for the United Nations.

Our nation and its allies cannot win this war with their armed forces alone. Fundamentally necessary for the winning of military victories on land, on the sea, and in the air is the winning of those battles now shaping up in our offices and factories and fields. One of the absolute requirements for victory is that we produce more planes, more tanks, more guns, more ships, and **more food** than the combined production of our aggressors. Not only must the enemy be out-fought; he must be out-produced. In order to win the war, we first must win the Battle of Production.

In this crucial battle of war production, a tremendous responsibility rests upon America's farms. They must provide the food which is necessary to sustain, not only the citizens and armed forces of our own country, but in large measure those of our allies as well. This is a stupendous task. But it **must** be accomplished. Thus it is that the United States Department of Agriculture has launched the 1942 "Food for Victory" campaign, calling for the greatest production of food-stuffs in history. For the success of this program, and hence of the whole war effort, every farm and every farmer in the nation—and this includes Negro farmers—must now be mobilized for the most intensive and efficient productive enterprise the world has ever seen.

At the very heart of the "Food for Victory" program lies the Cooperative Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture, with its more than 9,100 technically trained workers, including approxi-

¹The extension work here considered is that administered by the Cooperative Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, under authority of the Smith-Lever, Capper-Ketcham, Bankhead-Jones and related acts of Congress, and subsidized by federal appropriations. This extension program includes farm demonstration, home demonstration, and boys' and girls' club work. It is carried on by a large corps of extension agents and their assistants.

mately 7,000 farm and home demonstration agents and assistants. Upon this vast corps of extension workers, more than upon any other group, rests the responsibility of interpreting the "Food for Victory" program to America's farmers, and of helping them to increase their productive output. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that **all** of the nation's farmers now be afforded the guidance of the Cooperative Extension Service. In this period of increasing national peril, the motivation is even more urgent than the demands of democratic justice; it inheres in the essential requirements of victory.

Thus, the extent to which Negro farmers and their families participate in the extension program of the Department of Agriculture has now become an important measure of the extent to which the total agricultural resources of the nation are being mobilized to win the all-important Battle of Production. It is in the terms of this larger frame of reference that this inquiry proceeds.

I. PROBLEM

For a number of years, the Conference of Negro Land Grant College Presidents has been urging the Department of Agriculture to take steps to assure the just and equitable participation of Negroes in the program of the Cooperative Extension Service. In addition to greatly increased appropriations and personnel for extension work among Negroes, they have asked that Negro Land Grant Colleges in the several Southern States be allowed to share in the administration and supervision of the program.

Apparently in response to this and similar pressure from other sources, the Department of Agriculture appointed a special committee of white Extension Directors in Southern States to investigate and report on the extent of Negro participation in the Cooperative Extension Service. This Committee's report² was submitted at the beginning of 1941. Its "findings" and implicit conclusions constitute the immediate point of departure for the present study.

The special report on "Extension Work with Negroes" frequently neglects to set forth the data upon which important generalizations are based. It, likewise, avoids a direct and explicit answer to the question: Do Negroes share equitably in the extension program? Nevertheless, the report is so drawn as to make clear and unmistakable the impression that Negroes participate in the program as fully as their "needs" warrant and as "available funds" make possible. Although admitting a relative dearth of Negro extension agents, the report seeks to show that services rendered by white agents to Negro families just about compensate for the shortage in Negro personnel. It suggests, further, that far from being discriminated against in the

²"Extension Work with Negroes," January 1, 1941. (Mimeograph, 11 pages.) The full text of this report, as issued by the U. S. Secretary of Agriculture, is here reproduced in Appendix B.

expenditure of funds for extension work, Negro families really are favored by direct and "indirect" expenditures which approximate about 50 per cent **more** than equity would seem to require.

These are interesting and important "findings," indeed. If verified, they would thoroughly invalidate the contention of the Conference of Negro Land Grant College Presidents that gross racial inequalities characterize administration of the extension program. Further, if the situation really is as the report of this committee of southern Extension Directors suggests, then, the "Food for Victory" campaign poses no special problem of Negro personnel which is distinct from the general need for expansion in the extension program as a whole. But does the special report on "Extension Work with Negroes" give a valid interpretation of the situation? That is the general question with which the present inquiry is concerned.

Specifically, this study seeks to provide a definite answer to the following major question: **Do Negroes in the South participate equitably in the program of the Cooperative Extension Service?** In the light of the situation revealed by the analysis here made, attention is also given to the subsidiary question: **How can the Federal Government promote the fuller and more equitable participation of Negroes in the cooperative extension program in the Southern States?**

The geographical scope of this inquiry comprises all but two of the 18 states with completely segregated systems of schools.³ Within these 16 Southern States there reside 96 per cent of all rural Negroes in the United States.

Functionally, the analyses are restricted (1) to the relative availability of extension services to the white and Negro populations; and (2) to the relative expenditures for extension work among these two racial groups. Data are based chiefly upon published reports, unpublished records supplied by the Cooperative Extension Service, questionnaire responses of Negro extension agents in counties which environ the Negro Land Grant Colleges of 12 states, and an extensive field trip which carried the investigator through the rural areas of 7 Southern States during the spring of 1940.

II. CRITERION OF EQUITY

The fact that different investigators reach different conclusions about the degree to which Negroes participate "equitably" in the Cooperative Extension Service results largely from the fact that they proceed upon the basis of different (often unexpressed) assumptions. It is important, therefore, at the very outset of this report, to state explicitly the premises upon which this analysis rests. Especially important is it clearly to define, and to justify, the criterion of equity employed.

³All such states except Delaware (for which a few data are here presented) and the District of Columbia.

Basic to this analysis are these two assumptions: (1) that whatever federally-subsidized extension services are available in a given state should be equally available to all rural population groups; and (2) that the need of rural Negro families for extension services is **at least** as great as that of rural white families in the same state. The first assumption finds ample justification in the democratic principle itself. The second is consistent with the thoroughly documented inferior cultural and economic status of the rural Negro family throughout the South. Thus, in terms of these two assumptions, it is correct to infer that "equity" demands a *proportionate* distribution of extension services between the white and Negro populations in the southern states. With the formal statement of this premise, none is likely to quarrel. The difficulty lies in selecting some measures, or combination of measures, which constitute a valid index of the "proportionate distribution of extension services."

It would seem that the ratio of Negro to total rural (or farm) population in a given state may properly be used as a valid criterion of the proportions in which, in order to approximate equity, extension services should be distributed between the white and Negro populations. Further, in view of the racial segregation of general educational personnel and services in the South, a practice which appears to predominate in the Cooperative Extension Service, it would seem also that (1) the proportion Negroes constitute of the total number of extension agents and (2) the proportion which expenditures for extension work among Negroes constitute of total expenditures represent valid indices on the basis of which one might properly proceed to judge the degree to which extension services are proportionately distributed between the white and Negro populations. Thus, a true measure of the proportionate (and, hence, "equitable") distribution of extension services would seem to be the degree to which the ratios of Negro to total extension agents and to total expenditures approximate the ratio of Negro to total rural (or farm) population.

This apparently valid criterion of equity is implicitly rejected by the Committee of Extension Directors who prepared the special report on "Extension Work with Negroes." They argue that a population-ratio criterion fails to take account of the extensive services which white agents are alleged to render directly to Negro families. They contend also that "the Negro tenant farmers and croppers might best receive aid on the agricultural side principally through the white agents working with the landlords and managers;" and hence, that the ends of equity are served with less than a proportionate number of Negro agents. Further, implicitly and without expressed justification, they set up as a criterion for appraising the distribution of expenditures, not the proportion Negroes constitute of the rural population to be served, but rather, the proportion which the *farm land operated* by Negroes is of the total.

The issues joined by these two varying criteria of equity are

fundamental to the problem here attacked. They warrant critical analysis.

The Extent and Nature of Interracial Services

The degree to which the ratio of Negro to total extension agents approximates to ratio of Negro to total rural (or farm) population constitutes a valid index of equity in the distribution of extension services if one makes one of the following two assumptions: (1) that Negro agents serve only Negro families, and white agents serve only white families; *or* (2) that the extent of services rendered by white agents to Negro families does not exceed the extent of services rendered by Negro agents to white families. The first assumption is patently false. Some white agents do serve Negro families, and some Negro agents do serve white families. It is the second assumption which poses the crucial issue: Do the services of white agents to Negro families exceed the services of Negro agents to white families?

The special report on "Extension Work with Negroes" seeks definitely to give the impression that a considerable proportion of the time of white agents and specialists is devoted to extension work among Negroes. This is done through frequent reiteration, without adequate or verifiable supporting data. The following two quotations are illustrative.

A conservative estimate of the amount of time devoted to Negro farmers and their families by white county agricultural agents runs from none in counties without Negro farm operators to as high as 65 per cent in some counties with a very large Negro farm population.

A recent survey shows that individual specialists devote directly up to 20 per cent, and indirectly much more of their time, to work with Negro agents.

The first of the above quotations is accompanied by no data, nor citation of sources, nor even a description of procedures in the light of which a critical student might appraise the "conservative estimate" to which reference is made. Further, the estimate that the time devoted by white agents to work with Negro families ranges from none to 65 per cent is expressive of extremes only; it affords no index, whatever, of central tendency or prevailing practice. In like manner, the second quotation mentions "a recent survey" which is not cited in the report and the data of which are not presented. Moreover, its reference to the practice of "individual specialists" affords no index, whatever, of prevailing practice, which happens to be the really important consideration.

Such "dataless" and misleading assertions as those quoted above

certainly cannot suffice to establish the premise that, because of alleged extensive services rendered to Negro families by white agents, an equitable distribution of extension services does not require a proportionate number of Negro agents. Common observation in the field, buttressed by a few quantitative data, suggests that precisely the opposite proposition is true.

In order to obtain first-hand information on this and other points involved in the investigation, a simple inquiry form was sent to each of the seventeen Negro land-grant colleges with the request that a representative of the institution interview Negro extension agents in one or two neighboring counties and obtain the data requested. Replies were received from twelve land-grant colleges, reporting on eighteen different counties. This small sample, of course, affords no adequate basis for final generalizations about extension service practices in "the South." In the absence of more comprehensive data, however, the fairly representative group of counties surveyed does suffice at least to define fruitful hypotheses. Among the items for which responses were obtained are several which relate to "interracial extension services."⁴

Negro extension agents in the sample groups of counties were asked:

About what percentage of the time of white agents is devoted to service to Negro families?

About what percentage of the time of Negro agents is devoted to service to white families?

About how many times during the past year were the services of state subject matter specialists used: By Negro farm agents? By Negro home agents?

Responses to these questions are reported, by states and counties, in Table I.

⁴See Appendix A for a copy of the inquiry form.

TABLE 1. Estimated Percentages of Time Devoted by White and Negro Extension Agents, Respectively, to Families of the other Race; Number of Times Negro Agents Used State Specialists "during the Past Year;" in Eighteen Southern Counties, by States and by Counties.^a

State	County	Percent of Time Devoted		Number of Times State Specialists were used	
		By White Agents To Negro Families	By Negro Agents to White Families	By Negro Farm Agents	By Negro Home Agents
Louisiana	D	1	10	6	0
Delaware	C	2	15	5	0
Kentucky	X	10	b	b	b
	A	2	2	3	0
	B	1	0	2	0
Maryland	E	10	30	3	3
Mississippi	F	0	1	5	0
S. Carolina	G	0	0	2	2
Texas	H	—	—	0	0
Virginia	I	15	10	0	0
	J	10	2	0	0
W. Virginia	K	5	0	2	3
	L	0	0	0	1
N. Carolina	M	c	c	—	—
	N	2	b	0	0
Arkansas	O	1	0	d	d
Florida	P	50	5	100	10
	Q	5	4	3	0
Median	—	2	2	2	0
Range	—	0 to 50	0 to 30	0 to 100	0 to 10

a Data from special reports by selected Negro land-grant college representatives, based upon personal interviews with Negro extension agents in the counties involved.

b No Negro extension agents.

c "Not enough to mention."

d "Frequently."

There seems to be wide variation among the several counties in the percentage of time devoted by white and Negro agents, respectively, to extension services to families of the other race. Estimates were as high as 50 per cent for one white agent, and 30 per cent for one Negro agent. In general, however, the extent of "interracial services" appears to be about equal for white and Negro agents. In the case of each group, a median of 2 per cent of the agent's time is estimated to be devoted to such services.

Further insight into these "interracial services" by white and Negro extension agents is afforded by the apparent motivation for such services and especially by racial differences in the nature of services rendered. Respondents to the inquiry form here used were asked: "How does it happen (if it does) that white agents serve Negro families?" and *vice versa*. Typical replies to this question are listed below.

How does it happen that white agents serve Negro families?

Those who get aid, seek it.

There are no Negro agents.

It does not happen except by force or pressure.

The two Negro families served are well-to-do and very influential.

They do not serve Negroes.

AAA administered by white agents; Negroes who seek aid get advice; very few do.

How does it happen that Negro agents serve white families?

White families make direct request of Negro agents.

It does not happen.

It is requested by white agents.

No white home demonstration agent, so Negro agent serves whites.

White agent's work becomes pressing; he asks for Negro agent's assistance.

Many white farmers prefer Negro agents to inoculate hogs against cholera, etc.

Respondents were also asked to "describe in general terms the nature of services (if any) rendered Negro families by white agents," and *vice versa*. These are typical replies, fairly representative of the whole group of responses:

Services Rendered Negro Families by White Agents

Through bulletins, circulars, etc.

Assist local AAA committee.

Speak at agricultural meetings.

Signing up farmers for services to be rendered.

Soil conservation demonstrations; health, food and feed demonstration group meetings; bulletins.

AAA information.

Bulletins—rarely.

Give bulletins, circulars, etc., on request.

Attended one Negro conference and did clerical work in connection with cotton-mattress program.

Services Rendered White Families by Negro Agents

Vaccinating hogs and cattle, pruning and grafting fruit trees, bulletins and circular letters.

Demonstrations by vaccinating cows, poultry; preserving food; terracing.

Mattress-making.

Treating hundreds of hogs against cholera; pruning trees, etc.

Assist white farmers with hard labor.

Vaccinating live-stock; pruning orchards; measuring land.

In order to obtain some further index into the nature and relative frequency of interracial services rendered by white agents to Negro families, the Negro extension agents interviewed for purposes of this inquiry were asked to check four specified types of service as being rendered "not at all," "rarely," or "frequently" by white agents to Negro families. The responses made for 16 counties are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2. The Frequency with which White Farm and Home Agents Render Selected Types of Service to Negro Families in Sixteen Counties.^a

Type of Service and Agent	Number of counties where services are rendered			
	Not at all	Rarely	Frequently	No Response
Farm Agents				
Bulletins, circulars, etc.	—	9	7	—
Motion pictures, film strips, etc.	8	5	1	2
Conferences, meetings, etc.	—	12	3	1
Direct contact, demonstrations on farm or home	5	6	3	2
Home Agents				
Bulletins, circulars, etc.	6	6	2	2
Motion pictures, film strips, etc.	9	2	1	4
Conferences, meetings, etc.	5	8	1	2
Direct contact; demonstrations on farm or home	9	3	1	3

a See footnote "a," Table 1.

The data of Table 2 suggests that the services of white agents to Negro families are rendered chiefly through the distribution of bulletins and circulars. Even this procedure is followed "frequently" by white farm agents in fewer than one-half the counties surveyed, and by white home agents in only one-eighth of the counties. The showing of motion pictures or the holding of conferences and meetings with Negroes are reported to occur "rarely" or "not at all" in the great majority of the counties. Direct contact by white agents with Negro families, as through demonstrations on the farm or in the home, very seldom occurs.

The Negro agents interviewed for purposes of this inquiry were also asked to express an over-all judgment as to whether, "despite the relatively small number of Negro extension agents, the services given Negroes by white agents just about equalize the benefits of the program for white and Negro families." With reference to their own counties, Negro agents made responses of which the following are typical:

No, because white families occupy most of white agent's time.

No. White agent doesn't have time for both groups.

No. White agent gives only small service from office to Negro agent; never direct to farmers.

No. Service given by white agents is only part of the general county program. They do not go into Negro homes for individual service.

No. Time does not permit adequate service to Negro and white.

Responses to the above question were received for 17 of the counties surveyed. Of these responses, 16 were definitely negative, and one was non-committal.

Similarly, when Negro agents were asked whether in "any other county in the State" it is true the services of white agents to Negro families "just about equalize the benefits of the program" for the two racial groups, they either gave no reply or said they did not know (6 cases), or they replied definitely in the negative (11 cases). In only one instance was it reported that, in two counties in North Carolina, the services of white agents just about equalize the benefits of the program for white and Negro families. One Virginia respondent who replied in the negative added: "In areas . . . sparsely populated by Negroes, it has been found that a relatively small number of Negroes receive any help whatever."

As reported in Table 1, Negro agents in the sample group of counties surveyed were asked to note the frequency with which Negro farm and home agents made use of the services of (white) State subject-

matter specialists "during the past year." Replies were received for 16 counties. In one Florida county, it was reported that the services of State specialists were used by the Negro farm agent 100 times, and by the Negro home agent 10 times. For the other 15 counties, the range was from 0 to 6 times for farm agents, and from 0 to 3 times for home agents. Five of the farm agents and 10 of the home agents made no use at all of the services of state subject matter specialists. The median number of times such services were used was 2 for Negro farm agents, and 0 for Negro home agents.

Inquiry was made as to why the services of state subject matter specialists were not used more often by Negro agents. Typical replies are as follows:

They were not assigned by the Director.

Time would not permit.

Time was devoted to whites for the most part.

I was not notified of other meetings.

Lack of funds.

Too few specialists in State.

Service was not requested.

Specialists do not offer services; Negro agents are not invited to meetings.

Whites are served first.

Specialists were busy when needed.

In view of the responses reported in Table 1, together with those immediately above, it seems clear that, at least in the sample group of counties here surveyed, Negro farm and home agents make very little use of the services of state subject matter specialists. }

With respect to the extent and nature of interracial extension services rendered, at least in the sample group of counties here surveyed, these several groups of data suggest: (1) that Negro agents spend quite as much time serving white families as white agents spend serving Negro families; (2) that whereas the services rendered by white agents to Negro families consist largely of instructions or advice on AAA and other projects, given chiefly through bulletins, circulars or speeches; the services of Negro agents to white families consist chiefly of such much more substantial activities as vaccinating live-stock, pruning and grafting trees, measuring and terracing land, and mattress-making; (3) that only in highly exceptional cases do the services of white agents to Negro families suffice to compensate for the dearth of Negro agents; and (4) that (white) State subject matter specialists render very little service to Negro farm and home agents. } nile

These findings are consistent with common observation in the field. For example, the Negro farm agent in a Mississippi county told the investigator that he is able to serve only about 50 per cent of the

Negro farm operators in his county. He gave the following as one important explanation:

I have to serve a large percentage of the white farmers, too. There is a white agent, but they call on me for field work. I have to do vaccination work for the entire county. The white agent does no field work at all. All AAA work is in the white agent's office. He never leaves his office except for meetings and so on. All field work is thrown on me.⁵

To cite one more illustration, a nationally prominent white southerner who is thoroughly acquainted with all aspects of race relations in the South told a colleague of the investigator that:

Most white county agents work only with whites, which means that in those counties where there are only white county agents Negroes are sometimes more or less forgotten. One white agent who did work with the Negroes kept the county and state authorities in the dark about it. Otherwise they would perhaps have objected. The same is true in regard to the work of the female counterpart, the home demonstration agent.⁶

The findings summarized above are also consistent with the caste-like social structure which is generally known to predominate in the rural South. Thus, despite the limited group of counties surveyed, one may accept as a working hypothesis (if not an established fact) the proposition that such services as white agents may render to Negro families certainly do not exceed, either in time or in value, the services rendered by Negro agents to white families.

Thus, far from invalidating the Negro-total population ratio as a criterion by which to appraise the proportion Negroes constitute of total extension agents, the extent and nature of the interracial extension services actually rendered tend to emphasize the importance and correctness of that criterion. The conclusion is warranted that, in general, an equitable distribution of extension services between the white and Negro populations of the South requires that the proportion which the number of Negro agents constitutes of the total be at least equal to the ratio of Negro to total rural (or farm) population.

The Need for Direct Services to Negro Tenants and Croppers

Another issue involved in the selection of a criterion of equity relates to the implications which the greater incidence of tenancy among Negro farm operators holds for the relative distribution of **direct** extension services to the white and Negro populations. As was noted earlier, the report on "Extension Work with Negroes," prepared

⁵Interview held at the Negro agent's office, "X" County, Mississippi, April 25, 1940.

⁶Interview, Atlanta, Georgia, December 26, 1939.

by the special committee of Extension Directors, asserts that Negro tenants and croppers "might best be served" indirectly by having white farm agents work with landlords and managers. The implications of this assertion are that Negro tenants and croppers are not in position to profit by direct services; and hence, in view of the disproportionately large number of Negro tenants and croppers, that equity does not require a proportionate distribution of extension agents and expenditures between the white and Negro populations. Several considerations are pertinent with reference to this issue.

In the *first* place, the argument summarized above is relevant solely to the racial distribution of farm demonstration agents. Even if it were accepted as valid, it would provide no justification whatever for a relative dearth of Negro home demonstration agents or boy-girl work agents.

Second, despite the prevailing structure of southern agricultural organization, there is still a considerable realm of individual responsibility within which the tenant or cropper could profit from direct extension services. It is on the very large, highly organized and well supervised plantations that a tenant or cropper has little or no responsibility for crop planning and management. This type of agricultural unit predominates in only a few restricted areas of the South, and is gradually disappearing. Much more generally, a plantation is divided into a number of relatively independent units on which the tenant or cropper's responsibility is closely comparable to that of an independent renter. It would be incorrect, therefore, to assume that the disproportionately large number of Negro tenants and croppers could not profit by direct agricultural extension services. A large proportion certainly could.

Third, even though there are proportionately fewer Negro than white owners and renters in the sample group of counties surveyed for purposes of this inquiry, and proportionately more Negro croppers, still the Negro farm agents in these counties estimate that approximately the same proportions of white and Negro farm families "could" profit from the services of farm demonstration agents. The mere inspection of Table 3 reveals that the incidence of Negro cropper-families is much greater than the incidence of white cropper-families in this group of counties. Yet, the Negro extension agents interviewed estimate that from 10 to 100 per cent of all white families, and from 50 to 100 per cent of all Negro families "could profit from farm demonstration services." Median estimates are that 88 per cent of the white families and 90 per cent of the Negro families "could" so profit.

TABLE 3. Estimated Proportions of White and Negro Farm Families that "Could" Profit by Farm Demonstration Services, in Relation to the Number of White and Negro Farm Families, by Type of Tenure, by States and Selected Counties.^a

State	County	Race	Number of Farm Families				Percent of Farm Families that Could Profit by Farm Demonstration Services ^b	
			Owners	Renters	Croppers	Other	Total	
Arkansas	A	W	700	600	400	100	1,800	100
		N	650	1,500	2,000	1,400	5,500	100
Florida	B	W	275	119	4	9	407	75
		N	345	693	35	2	1,075	75
Kentucky	D	W	700	500	300	100	1,600	75
		N	276	340	100	200	916	80
Louisiana	E	W	500	300	100	75	975	75
		N	100	150	50	40	340	75
Louisiana	F	W	1,412	2,761	0	0	4,173	65
		N	527	3,126	0	0	3,653	80
Louisiana	G	W	456	147	0	0	603	100
		N	269	1,622	0	0	1,891	100
Maryland	H	W	—	—	—	—	1,913	100
		N	369	89	0	0	458	100
Mississippi	I	W	241	69	146	12	468	100
		N	174	609	605	19	1,407	100
N. Carolina	J	W	2,000	500	—	—	2,500	10
		N	1,000	300	200	—	1,500	50
S. Carolina	K	W	1,406	0	162	442	2,000	10
		N	816	0	224	267	1,297	90
S. Carolina	L	W	1,962	857	202	713	3,734	—
		N	684	2,260	848	285	2,944	70
Texas	M	W	396	357	78	0	831	—
		N	188	302	112	0	602	100
Virginia	N	W	1,317	960	371	2	2,350	90
		N	749	491	713	0	1,953	90
W. Virginia	O	W	378	88	10	5	481	90
		N	299	43	6	0	348	90
W. Virginia	P	W	2,332	462	0	65	—	90
		N	46	8	0	2	56	95
W. Virginia	Q	W	2,590	800	0	91	—	85
		N	24	28	0	0	52	100

^a See footnote "a", Table 1.

^b The median percentages are 88 for white families, and 90 for Negro families. The range is from 10 to 100 per cent for white families, and from 50 to 100 per cent for Negro families.

Fourth, the fact that a farm operator is a tenant or cropper is seldom mentioned by the Negro agents here interviewed in explaining why some farm families "could not" profit from agricultural extension services. Among the 16 counties represented in Table 3, there are 11 for which it is estimated that something less than 100 per cent of the farm families "could" profit from extension work. The agents making these estimates were asked to state their "chief reasons for saying that other families (if any) could not profit" from such services. Replies to this question were received for 9 counties. All of the reasons given are listed below:

Some farmers not convinced information is necessary.

Some are so well established, through education, etc., that such services are not needed.

*Landlords do not care for workers to be too progressive.

Some are sufficiently progressive.

Some lack houses or access to land for use of services.

"Other families" live on small farms, work in near-by industries; not interested.

Help needed is negligible compared to the great help needed by most farm families.

*Landlord opposition and antagonism.

*Due to rulings on most plantations owned by Northern people, the Negroes cannot sufficiently cooperate.

Some will never reach a doing level because of income and equipment on hand, traditional farming methods, etc.

General opposition to change.

Do not intend to do enough farming, and hence not interested.

Live on small farms, work at near-by industries; hence not interested in extension program.

If a considerable proportion of tenants and croppers were not in position to profit from agricultural extension services, then, one should expect tenure status to be cited very frequently by extension agents in explaining why some farm families in their counties "could not" so profit. Among the 13 reasons listed above, however, only three refer at all to tenure status⁷ They indicate that there is some landlord opposition to the giving of extension services to families on plantations. However, even with reference to the small proportion of farm families said to be unable to profit from extension services, this reason is not cited with the frequency one should expect if it were a major and general consideration.

⁷These three reasons are designated by asterisks. They refer to counties B, D and K, in Florida, Kentucky and North Carolina, respectively. (See Table 3.)

To summarize, it is seen (1) that whether a farm operator is a tenant or cropper is clearly irrelevant to his family's ability to profit from the services of home demonstration or boy-girl agents, the sole question being whether such tenure status makes farm operators unable to profit from the services of farm demonstration agents; (2) that the organization which prevails on most plantations leaves with tenants and croppers considerable responsibility for crop planning and management; (3) that despite the much greater incidence of tenancy among Negro farm operators, extension agents cooperating with this inquiry estimate that about the same proportions of the white and Negro farm families in their counties "could" profit from farm demonstration services; and (4) that status as a tenant or cropper is seldom cited by these Negro agents as an explanation of why some farm families in their counties "could not" profit from extension services. In view of these considerations, there seems to be no substantial basis for the argument that the greater incidence of tenancy among Negro farm operators justifies the provision of relatively less direct extension service to Negroes than is provided for the white population. Indeed, quite the opposite hypothesis appears to be more tenable. Despite the greater incidence of tenancy among Negroes, it appears that the need for and ability to profit from direct extension services is generally quite as great among Negroes as among the white population. Thus, equity would seem to require that there be a proportionate distribution of extension agents and expenditures for direct services to the two racial groups.

The Extension Program As a Service to "People"

Attention has been called to the fact that the committee of Extension Directors' special report seeks to appraise expenditures for extension work with Negroes, not in terms of the proportion which Negroes constitute of the total rural (or farm) population, but in terms of the proportion which farm land operated by Negroes constitutes of the total. Illustrative is the following, implicitly evaluative, comparison between the proportion of farm-land-operated by Negroes and the proportion of total expenditures (direct and allegedly "indirect") which went for extension work among Negroes.

Thus it would seem . . . there has been made available for agricultural extension work with Negro farm families, who . . . operate 9.47 per cent of all land in farms in the 15 Southern States, 14.1 per cent of the total appropriations for extension work in these states.⁸

⁸Although the immediate concern at this point is for the principle involved in the proportion-of-farm-land-operated criterion, attention should be called to the fact that the 14.1 per cent of expenditures here mentioned is a spurious and fallacious estimate. It is based upon alleged "indirect" services to Negroes by white agents and specialists the cost of which is claimed to exceed even the total amount spent directly on extension work with Negroes.

The criterion implicit in the above quotation appears to be based upon the assumption that the distribution of extension services and expenditures **should** be in relation to the distribution of farm-land operated. This principle is both alien to the legislative policies which govern the distribution of Federal funds for the Cooperative Extension Service and repugnant to the controlling purpose of the program as expressed by the organic Act from which its authorization is derived.

In the *first* place, Federal laws authorizing appropriations for extension work provide for the apportionment of funds among the states on the basis of the relative size of their respective rural or farm **populations**, but never on the basis of the relative amount of farm-land-operated. The Smith-Lever, Capper-Ketcham and Bankhead-Jones Acts authorize uniform annual grants totaling \$50,000 to each of the 48 states. These flat-grant allotments, which amount to \$2,400,000, represented only 15 per cent of the Federal extension funds distributed to the states for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1941. The remainder, nearly \$16,000,000 was pro-rated among the several states on the basis of the relative size of their **rural populations** (in the case of Smith-Lever and Capper-Ketcham funds) and their **farm populations** (in the case of Bankhead-Jones funds).

In thus providing for the bulk of Federal extension funds (about 85 per cent of the total) to be distributed among the states in relation to their rural and farm populations, Congress established a principle which is of major importance for this inquiry. The funds are obviously provided for the benefit of farm and non-farm rural people. Hence, as regards the apportionment of funds among the several states, equity requires a proportionate distribution on the basis of their respective farm and non-farm rural populations. This principle, legally validated for the apportionment of funds among the states, would seem to apply with equal validity to the distribution of extension funds and services between the white and Negro populations **within** states.

Second, the expressed purpose of the Smith-Lever Act, the organic law for the whole federally-aided extension program, is to aid in diffusing agricultural and home economics information "among the **people** of the United States." Thus, in theory as in practice, the cooperative extension program is an educational service to **people**. Specifically, it is an educational service to **rural people**, regardless of their residence on farm or non-farm land, and certainly without regard for the size of farm units which any given group of rural people operate.

Thus, the proportion-of-farm-land-operated criterion cannot be allowed as a valid basis upon which to appraise the distribution of extension services and expenditures between the white and Negro populations. Far more expressive of the legislative principles governing federal appropriations and of the avowed purpose of the extension program is the premise that services and expenditures should be distributed in relation to the relative size of the white and Negro rural (or farm) populations.

A Valid Criterion of Equity

This somewhat extensive analysis has been undertaken because of the fundamental importance of the evaluative criterion an investigator uses in his appraisal of the extent to which Negroes in the South participate in the cooperative extension program. The essential "facts" about such participation are seldom open to question. But the meaning of these facts, especially the degree to which they reflect an "equitable" distribution of services to the Negro population, has thus far been subject to considerable dispute.

It has here been shown: (1) that, by and large, Negro families in the South must depend upon Negro agents for extension services; (2) that such services as white agents render to Negro families are no greater than those rendered by Negro agents to white families, and hence may properly be discounted in comparisons of services received by the two racial groups; (3) that, despite the greater incidence of tenacy among Negro farm operators, the need for and ability to profit from extension services is fully as great among the Negro population as among the white population; and (4) that the legal purpose and bases of apportionment of Federal funds for extension work clearly define this program as an educational service to rural **people**, a program whose benefits should be distributed among rural populations in proportion to their size, without regard to the amount of farm-land-operated by groups receiving service. In the light of these several considerations, it may be concluded that the ratio of Negro to total rural (or farm) population in a given state does represent a valid criterion by which to measure the degree to which there is an equitable distribution of extension services between the white and Negro people.

It is fair to assume that a Negro extension agent cannot render equally efficient service to a larger clientele than that served by a white agent, and further, that it costs just as much to render efficient service to Negro families as to white families. Thus, the relative size of the white and Negro operative personnel, especially extension agents, and the relative amounts expended directly for extension work among white and Negro families may properly be utilized as valid indices of the relative distribution of extension services among the white and Negro populations. The degree to which Negroes in a given southern state participate equitably in the Cooperative Extension Program is reflected, therefore, by the degree of correspondence between the ratio of Negro to total rural (or farm) population, on the one hand, and the ratios (a) of the number of Negro extension agents to the total number of agents and (b) of the amount expended for extension work with Negroes to total expenditures, on the other. It is in terms of this "criterion of equity" that appraisal is now made of the number of Negro extension agents and the amounts of expenditures for extension work with Negro families.

III. NUMBER OF EXTENSION AGENTS

Attention has been called to the fact that, in addition to flat-grant allotments, agricultural extension funds authorized by different federal acts are apportioned among the several states on two different population bases: rural population and rural-farm population. Either of these population bases, or some approximation of the two, may properly be used as a basis for computing the proportion Negro extension agents should constitute of the total in order to satisfy the requirements of equity.

TABLE 4. Number of Extension Agents in 16 Southern States, by States, Type of Program, and Race; September 30, 1941.^a

	All Agents			Per- cent Negro	Farm Agents			Home Agents			Boy-Girl Agents		
	Total		Negro		Total		Negro	Total		Negro	Total		Negro
	White	Negro			White	Negro		White	Negro		White	Negro	
Alabama	336	264	72	21	202	166	36	129	95	34	5	3	2
Arkansas	215	182	33	15	106	92	14	107	89	18	1	1	0
Florida	132	113	19	14	76	66	10	54	45	9	2	2	0
Georgia	339	287	52	15	203	183	25	126	101	25	5	3	2
Kentucky	251	244	7	3	175	170	5	67	65	2	9	9	0
Louisiana	206	186	20	10	115	103	12	88	81	7	3	2	1
Maryland	64	58	6	9	32	30	2	29	25	4	3	3	0
Mississippi	299	223	76	25	164	130	34	127	87	40	8	6	2
Missouri	239	238	1	b	141	141	0	91	90	1	7	7	0
N. Carolina	379	321	58	15	234	198	36	143	121	22	2	2	0
Oklahoma	206	186	20	10	103	93	10	99	89	10	4	4	0
S. Carolina	171	133	38	22	89	69	20	78	60	18	4	4	0
Tennessee	308	283	20	7	200	189	11	105	96	9	3	3	0
Texas	615	530	85	14	344	296	48	268	231	37	3	3	0
Virginia	253	216	37	15	173	145	28	77	68	9	3	3	0
W. Virginia	136	131	5	4	65	63	2	44	43	1	27	25	2
Total	4,149	3,600	549	13	2,427	2,134	293	1,632	1,386	246	89	80	9

^a Data from Cooperative Extension Service.

^b Less than .5 per cent.

In the 16 southern states with which this study is concerned, Negroes constitute 24.1 per cent of the rural population and 26.7 per cent of the rural-farm population. Thus, an equitable distribution of extension services to the Negro population would require that Negroes constitute approximately one-fourth of the total number of extension agents in these states.

It may be seen from Table 4 that, in September 1941, there were 4,149 extension agents of all types in the 16 southern states here involved. Had these agents been distributed equitably between the two racial groups, there would have been approximately 1,000 Negro agents. Actually, however, there were only 549 Negro agents. They constituted, not one-fourth of the total, as an equitable distribution of services would require, but only about one-eighth (13 per cent) of the total number of extension agents.

The data of Table 5 show that a disproportionately small number of Negro extension agents is a general characteristic of programs in the several southern states. On the basis of the ratio of Negro to total rural population, there should have been 451 **more** Negro agents in these 16 states than there were in September, 1941. The actual number of Negro agents approximated by only 55 per cent the number which an equitable division between the two racial groups would require. Only in Oklahoma was there more than a proportionate number of Negro agents. In 6 of the states, there were fewer than one-half as many Negro extension agents as the proportion Negroes constitute of the rural population would seem to warrant.

What this relative dearth of Negro agents means for the relative availability of extension services may be illustrated even more clearly by racial differences in the average number of farm operators per farm demonstration agent. In 1935, there were 2,596,622 white farm

TABLE 5. Actual Number of Negro Extension Agents in Relation to the Number Required for Equity, by States, September 30, 1941.^a

State	Percent Negro of Rural Population 1930	Number of Negro Agents Required for Equity ^b	Actual Number of Negro Agents	Difference Between Actual Number and Equitable Number	Percent Actual No. Is of Equitable Number
Alabama	35.6	120	72	-48	60
Arkansas	26.5	57	33	-24	58
Florida	31.3	41	19	-22	46
Georgia	37.5	127	52	-75	41
Kentucky	6.0	14	7	-7	50
Louisiana	40.9	84	20	-64	24
Maryland	17.8	11	6	-5	55
Mississippi	52.4	157	76	-81	49
Missouri	3.0	7	1	-6	14
N. Carolina	28.5	108	58	-50	54
Oklahoma	6.6	14	20	+6	143
S. Carolina	47.9	52	38	-14	73
Tennessee	13.8	44	20	-24	46
Texas	15.3	94	85	-9	91
Virginia	26.7	69	37	-32	54
W. Virginia	6.8	9	5	-4	56
	24.1	1,000	549	-451	55

^a See Table 4.

^b Total number of agents (Table 4) multiplied by per cent Negro is of rural population.

operators and 814,920 Negro farm operators in 15 of the 16 southern states here involved.⁹ As is noted in Table 4 (as of September 30, 1941), there were 1,993 white farm demonstration agents and 293 Negro farm demonstration agents in these 15 states. Thus (on the basis of 1935 population data and 1941 extension service data), there was an average of 1,303 white farmers per white farm agent, as compared with 2,781 Negro farmers per Negro farm agent. The "potential" clientele of the average Negro agent was, therefore, more than twice as large as that of the average white agent. This necessarily means that extension services were markedly less available for the Negro population.

It may be seen from Table 6 that the proportionately small number of Negro extension agents is characteristic of all three types of programs. Whereas Negroes constitute about one-fourth of the population to be served in the 16 southern states, Negroes constituted only 12 per cent of the farm agents, 15 per cent of the home agents, and 10 per cent of the boy-girl work agents (as of June 31, 1941). If the totals of 2,427 farm agents, 1,632 home agents and 89 boy-girl agents had been divided equitably¹⁰ between the two racial groups, there would have been 292 more Negro farm agents, 147 more Negro home agents, and 12 more Negro boy-girl agents. The resultant corps of 1,000 Negro extension agents would then have included about 585 farm agents, 393 home agents, and 22 boy-girl agents. This would be more than twice as many Negro farm and boy-girl agents and over one-third more Negro home agents than were actually employed.

⁹National Resources Committee, **Farm Tenancy: Report of the President's Committee**. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937, pp. 98-9. (The 15 states include all those listed in Table 5, except Missouri.)

¹⁰That is, "proportionately," considering the fact that Negroes constitute 24.1 per cent of the total rural population.

TABLE 6. Number and Percentage Increase of Extension Agents in 16 Southern States, by Type of Program and Race:
1925 (December 31), 1937 (February 28), and 1941 (June 30).^a

Type of Program	No. of Agents			Percent of Total	No. Increase Over 1925			No. Increase Over 1937			Percent Increase Over 1925			Percent Increase Over 1937		
	White		Negro		Total		White	Negro	Total		White	Negro	Total		White	Negro
	Total	White	Negro		Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
All Types	1925	2,072	1,772	300	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	1937	3,734	3,286	448	12	1,662	1,514	148	.....	.....	.....	80	81	50	.....	.....
	1941	4,149	3,600	549	13	2,077	1,828	249	415	314	101	100	103	83	11	10 23
Farm Demonstration	1925	1,246	1,073	173	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	1937	2,297	2,045	252	11	1,051	972	79	.....	.....	.....	81	91	46	.....	.....
	1941	2,427	2,134	293	12	1,181	1,061	120	130	89	41	94	98	69	6	4 16
Home Demonstration	1925	766	651	115	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	1937	1,363	1,174	189	14	597	523	.....	.....	.....	.....	78	80	64	.....	.....
	1941	1,632	1,386	246	15	866	735	131	269	212	57	88	88	87	20	18 30
Boy-Girl Club Work	1925	60	48	12	20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	1937	74	67	7	9	14	19	— ^b	.....	.....	.....	23	40	— ^b	.....	.....
	1941	89	80	9	10	29	32	— ^b	15	13	2	48	66	— ^b	20	19 29

^a Data supplied by the Cooperative Extension Service. The states represented are those listed in Table 4. (It will be noted that data are for different months and seasons in the three years involved. This fact, however, should in no way tend to invalidate *racial* comparisons.)

^b Decrease.

The above calculations of what an equitable division of the total number of extension agents would entail are based upon the ratio of Negro to total rural population (24.1 per cent). In terms of the ratio of Negro to total farm population (26.7 per cent), however, the quotas for Negro agents would be substantially increased. On this basis, out of the 4,149 extension agents employed on June 30, 1941, there would have been 670 Negro farm agents, 450 Negro home agents, and 25 Negro boy-girl work agents, a total of 1,145 Negro extension agents. This is more than twice the number of Negro agents actually employed.

Table 6 also shows percentage increases in the number of white and Negro farm, home, and boy-girl extension agents from 1925 to 1937, and from 1937 to 1941. It will be noted that, during the first of these periods, the percentage increase for white agents was greater than that for Negro agents in each type of program. Thus, the gap between the availability of services for the two racial groups became wider during this 12-year period. Since 1937, however, there has been a definite trend toward a closing of that gap. Whereas there was a 10 per cent increase in the number of all types of white agents between 1937 and 1941, the corresponding increase for Negro agents was 23 per cent. This proportionately larger increase in the number of Negro agents was characteristic of all three types of programs. A continuation of this recent trend over a number of years would lead ultimately to equalizing the availability of extension services to the white and Negro populations.

The fact that this proportionate shortage of Negro extension agents results in a very real limitation of needed services to Negro rural families is seen from the responses of Negro extension agents in 16 counties of 11 states to the following question:

Is the need for extension services in the county met about as fully for Negroes as for whites? Explain fully and justify your answer.

In order to give the full "flavor" of these Negro agents' expressions, all of their responses are reproduced below.

State	County	Response
Louisiana	F	It is not, because we do not have workers in large enough numbers to reach farm people.
	G	No, because there is no Negro home demonstration agent.
Delaware	R	No, because there are no Negro agents, and white agents serve Negroes only incidentally. A few Negroes are served by the soil conservation program, but the majority . . . are rendered no service whatsoever.

State	County	Response
Kentucky	D	No. Equipment is limited. Pay is inadequate, making it impossible for agent to furnish needed equipment.
	E	No. Whites have more agents, facilities (i. e. films, etc.), office space and equipment.
Maryland	H	Not quite. Negro agents have twice the territory to cover as whites.
Mississippi	I	No, because there are three times as many Negro farmers as white. One county agent, 1 home agent and 1 boy-girl agent for 468 whites. Only 1 county demonstration agent to serve 1,407 Negro farmers.
S. Carolina	L	No, because of insufficient personnel.
Virginia	N	No, because there is no assistant Negro farm agent, no home agent, no office help. White agent has an assistant and full-time office help. Negro agent pays his own travel expenses which limits his services in county.
	O	Same as above, except that white agent has no assistant.
W. Virginia	P	No. Two agents give only part-time to Negroes. Estimated 50 per cent of need not served. Negroes don't benefit from local service organizations as do whites.
	Q	No. Two Negro agents do adult and 4-H work. Four whites, 2 for adult and 2 for 4-H.
N. Carolina	J	No. On basis of population there should be one-half as many Negro agents as white agents. At present there are one-fourth as many.
	K	This is seldom, if ever, true. This county has no Negro agents even with this great need.
Arkansas	A	No, only 1,700 white farm families have 4 workers, and they are working with all their people. We are not reaching but 50 per cent of the Negroes.
Florida	B	No. One worker to serve, 1,075 farms.

Further evidence of the relatively more marked limitation upon services to Negro rural families is seen in the estimates of Negro extension agents of the number of "additional (white and Negro) farm and home and boy-girl agents *needed*" in their respective counties. Such estimates were received for 18 counties in 12 states. They are tabulated in Table 7. It will be noted from Table 7 that, in the judgment of the Negro extension agents replying to the inquiry form used

in this study, there is additional need in their counties for 3 white and 13 Negro farm agents, 4 white and 21 Negro home agents, and 6 white and 17 Negro boy-girl agents. In all types of programs combined, these estimates call for four times as many *additional* Negro agents as white agents.¹⁰

The fact that the Negro population is more sparsely settled than the white population in some rural areas is frequently cited to explain the relative dearth of Negro extension agents. The committee of Extension Directors' special report on "Extension Work with Negroes" states, for example:

It is clearly not possible or advisable to maintain Negro extension agents in counties with but a few hundred Negro farm families.

The report suggests the desirability of having

. . . at least one Negro extension agent to supplement the whole extension program in each county having over 1,000 Negro farm families, and perhaps to appoint Negro agricultural agents to serve in combinations of several counties having smaller numbers of Negro farm families, as has already been done in several states.

TABLE 7. Estimated Number of Additional Extension Agents Needed in Selected Counties, by Types of Agents, by States and by Counties.^a

State	County	Farm Agents		Home Agents		Boy-Girl Agts.	
		White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Arkansas	M	0	1	0	1	0	1
Delaware	X	1	1	0	1	0	1
Florida	N	0	0	0	0	0	1
	O	0	1	0	2	0	2
Kentucky	A	0	0	0	0	0	0
	B	0	1	0	2	0	1
Louisiana	C	0	1	0	2	1	1
	D	0	0	0	1	0	0
Maryland	E	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mississippi	F	0	2	0	3	0	0
N. Carolina	P	0	1	1	2	2	1
	Q	0	2	1	2	1	1
S. Carolina	G	1	0	1	0	0	0
Texas	H	0	0	0	0	0	2
Virginia	I	0	1	0	1	1	1
	J	0	0	0	1	0	0
W. Virginia	K	0	1	0	1	0	2
	L	0	0	0	1	0	2
Total		3	13	4	21	6	17

^a See footnote "a", Table 1.

¹⁰Negro agents responding to the inquiry form here used were asked: "On what bases do you justify the above estimates of need? Explain fully." Their replies are closely comparable to those reported above in justification of their assertions that the need for extension services in their respective counties is not met as fully for Negroes as for whites.

Much the same explanation and suggestion were set forth several years ago in a letter from the former Director of Extension Work to the President's Advisory Committee on Education. In commenting upon the relationship between the sparsity of Negro population and the number of Negro extension agents, it is asserted:

We would not feel justified generally in employing an agent with a clientele of less than 500 families within a reasonable distance of his headquarters. In some cases it would be possible to combine two counties in the territory of one agent . . .¹¹

It will be noted that "500 families within a reasonable distance", rather than "over 1,000 Negro farm families" per county as proposed by the special committee quoted above, is here set as the criterion for determining the practicability of employing a Negro extension agent.

There can be no doubt that the sparsity of the Negro population in some rural areas makes it more difficult to provide extension services for Negro families than for white families. There is very real doubt, however, that this factor affords the basic explanation of the enormous proportionate shortage of Negro agents here revealed. Even in many counties where there are more than 1,000 Negro farm families, there is a notable shortage of Negro extension agents.

It may be seen from Table 8 that there are 291 counties in 13 southern states with 1,000 or more Negro farms. In 108 of these counties there are no Negro farm agents, and in 142 there are no Negro home agents. Only 40 per cent of the counties with 1,000 or more Negro farms provide both farm and home agents for the service of Negro families. Fully one-fourth of these counties provide neither Negro farm agents nor Negro home agents.

¹¹Letter from Mr. C. W. Warburton, Director of Extension Work, April 21, 1939. (For a more complete digest of the letter, see: Doxey A. Wilkerson, *Special Problems of Negro Education*, *op. cit.*, p. 113, footnote 40.)

TABLE 8. Number of Counties of 1,000 or more Negro Farms (1935), With or Without Negro Extension Agents, September, 1941, by States.^a

State ^b	No. Counties with 1,000 or more Negro Farms	Number of Counties with or without Negro Extension Agents					
		With Farm Agents	With Home Agents	With Farm and Home Agents	Without Farm Agents	Without Home Agents	Without Farm or Home Agents
Alabama	32	30	30	30	2	2	2
Arkansas	24	11	16	10	13	8	7
Florida	4	4	2	2	0	2	0
Georgia	27	15	7	6	12	20	11
Louisiana	27	17	7	1	10	20	4
Mississippi	53	27	35	22	26	18	13
Missouri	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
North Carolina	31	21	13	13	10	18	10
Oklahoma	4	4	0	4	0	4	0
South Carolina	38	19	14	10	19	24	15
Tennessee	9	7	4	4	2	5	2
Texas	30	21	17	14	9	13	6
Virginia	11	7	3	1	4	8	2
Total	291	183	149	117	108	142	72
Percent of Total (i. e. 291) Counties	100	63	51	40	37	49	25

^a Date from Cooperative Extension Service, United States Department of Agriculture, farm data based upon Agricultural Census, 1935.

^b There are no counties with 1,000 Negro farms in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland or West Virginia. The numbers of Negro farms and extension agents in these states are as follows: Delaware—1,647 farms, no agents; Kentucky—9,568 farms, 6 agents; Maryland—8,098 farms, 6 agents; West Virginia—868 farms, 4 agents.

In some counties with several thousand Negro farm families, the dearth of Negro extension agents is especially notable. For example, in 6 of the states listed in Table 8,¹² there are 25 counties with from 3,000 to 4,000 Negro farms. Yet, only 14 of these counties provide both farm and home agents for work with Negroes. Two counties¹³ have between 5,000 and 6,000 Negro farm families each, but no Negro home agents. Many such examples could be cited to show that, even in counties where there is a marked concentration of Negro farm families, there is frequently a notable shortage of Negro extension agents.

¹²Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

¹³One in Louisiana and one in Tennessee.

For a proper evaluation of the situation revealed by this analysis of the number of Negro extension agents, consideration must be given to the *actual* relations which the Negro agent bears to the cooperative extension program. The special report on "Extension Work with Negroes" advances the principle that the proper function of Negro agents is merely to "supplement" the services which white agents render to both white and Negro families. "From the beginning," the report says:

... extension work with Negroes has never been considered as a parallel service along racial lines, but as an integral part of the whole extension program looking toward the betterment of all farmers and their families regardless of race of color. The services of white agents have been and are now available to farm families of both races seeking information and advice in solving their farm and home problems. . . Negro extension agents are employed to *supplement*¹⁴ the extension program, their particular function being, of course, to intensify agricultural extension work with members of their own race.

Whatever may have been "considered" to be the proper role of Negro extension agents, the data here presented show clearly that, in general, they are the only medium through which Negro rural families receive substantial extension services. Even such exceptions as there are to this generalization have been shown to be fully balanced by the very considerable services which Negro agents render to white families. Thus, in fact if not in theory, the Negro agent is more than a "supplement" to a basic corps of white agents who are supposedly rendering service "regardless of race or color." In effect, he is *the* extension worker to whom rural Negro families must look for real help with their farm and home problems.

In the light of this fact, the approximately 50 per cent *relative* shortage of Negro extension personnel¹⁵ reflects gross and unjustifiable neglect of the Negro rural population. There is no escape from the conclusion that, very definitely, the Negro people of the South do *not* participate equitably in the cooperative extension program.

IV. EXPENDITURE FOR EXTENSION WORK

The Cooperative Extension Service is financed by funds from federal, state and local sources. The bulk of such funds, however, comes from federal appropriations. During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1941, for example, the money allocated for extension work in the 16

¹⁴Our Italics.

¹⁵There is a relative shortage of 45% on the basis of the Negro-total rural population ratio, and a relative shortage of 61% on the basis of the Negro-total farm population ratio.

southern states involved in this study was derived from federal and other sources as follows:

Federal sources	\$9,382,953 (64%)
State and Local sources	5,412,304 (36%)
Total	\$14,795,257 (100%)

Thus, nearly two-thirds of the funds available for extension work in the South came from federal sources. The proportion of those funds devoted to work among Negroes is seen, therefore, to be more than an index of Negro participation in the cooperative extension program; it is also, in a very real sense, a measure of *federal* support for this type of "Negro education."

Published reports of the Cooperative Extension Service do not detail expenditures by race. This office has supplied special estimates, however, of expenditures for work with Negroes, by states and by years, from 1925 to 1942. These estimates, together with official reports of funds available for both races, provide the basis for the following analysis.

Since Negroes in the 16 southern states here involved constitute 24.1 per cent of the rural population and 26.7 per cent of the rural-farm population, a proportionate division of expenditures between the races would require that approximately one-fourth of all expenditures for extension work be devoted to work with Negroes. The extent to which such a division actually obtains is perhaps the most basic measure available of the extent to which Negroes participate equitably in the cooperative extension program.

It may be seen from Table 9 that in no year since 1925 have the southern states even closely approximated a proportionate division of funds between extension work with Negroes and extension work with the white population. Whereas equity would require that about one-fourth of the funds be devoted to Negro work, the actual proportions so devoted have ranged only from 5.5 per cent to 6.7 per cent. This has been true despite the fact that federal funds available for extension work have nearly tripled during this 18-year period, and that total funds have more than doubled. It is obvious that mere increases in the amount of money available for extension work do not bring corresponding increases in the degree of equity with which Negroes share in their benefits.

TABLE 9. Total, Federal, and State and Local Funds Allotted for Extension Work in 16 Southern States; Amounts and Percentages for Negroes, by Fiscal Years: 1925 to 1941.^a

Year Ending June 30	Funds Allotted for Extension Work			Exp. for Work Among Negroes		Percent of 1942 Amt.	
				Amount	Percent of Total	Total	Negro
	Total	Federal	State and Local				
1925	\$ 7,613,801	\$3,322,751	\$4,291,050	\$ 431,502	5.7	48.5	43.0
1929	9,002,117	4,098,969	4,903,148	509,574	5.7	59.6	50.8
1931	10,244,467	4,515,944	5,728,523	560,134	5.5	66.6	55.9
1932	10,153,309	4,528,149	5,625,161	561,785	5.5	66.5	56.0
1933	9,278,684	4,493,785	4,784,899	534,473	5.8	61.3	53.2
1935	8,096,113	4,134,894	3,961,219	509,995	6.3	53.7	50.8
1936	12,623,200	8,329,086	4,294,114	741,660	5.9	83.5	74.0
1937	13,044,284	8,538,740	4,505,544	804,657	6.2	86.1	80.0
1938	13,533,706	8,719,280	4,814,426	809,665	6.0	89.4	80.6
1939	14,089,409	8,995,294	5,094,115	911,892	6.1	92.9	91.0
1940	14,492,183	9,393,461	5,098,722	962,807	6.7	95.5	96.0
1941	14,795,257	9,382,953	5,412,304	987,836	6.7	97.6	98.1
1942	15,137,175	9,543,509	5,593,666	1,042,155 ^c	6.7	100.0	100.0

^a Data supplied by Extension Service, United States Department of Agriculture.

^b Includes State and College Funds, County Funds, Farmers' organizations, etc.

^c Allotment.

This apparent racial discrimination in the division of extension funds is shown by Table 10 to be characteristic of nearly all of the southern states. Only in Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia, where there are relatively small Negro rural populations, does the Negro-total ratio for expenditures closely approximate that for rural population. In 12 of the 16 states, 1941 expenditures for work with Negroes were less than one-half the amounts which the incidence of Negroes in the rural population would seem to warrant. In 6 states,¹⁷ such proportions ranged downward from about one-fifth. On the basis of Negro-total farm population ratios, of course, racial inequalities in the distribution of extension funds would appear to be even more extreme.

It should be noted that, during recent years, there has been a slight trend toward a more equitable division of extension funds between programs for the white and Negro populations. Whereas, in 1925, expenditures for Negro work constituted only 5.7 per cent of the total for all 16 states, the corresponding proportions were 5.9 per cent in 1936, and 6.7 per cent in 1941. Between 1936 and 1941, such proportionate increases may be noted for all but 3 of the 15 states for which comparable data are shown in Table 10.¹⁸

¹⁷Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

¹⁸The exceptions are Georgia, Louisiana and Oklahoma, in each of which there was a slight decrease in the proportion of total funds devoted to extension work with Negroes. Data for Missouri for 1936 are not available.

TABLE 10. Expenditures for Total and Negro Extension Work in 16 Southern States, 1925, 1936, and 1941; Percent Negro of Total Expenditures and of Rural and Farm Population.^a

State	1936			1925			1941			Percent Negro of Total			Percent Negro of	
	Total		Negro	Total		Negro	Total		Negro	1925	1936	1941	Rural Pop-ulation 1930	Rural-Farm Population, 1930
	\$	\$		\$	\$		\$	\$						
Alabama	485,177	46,810	46,810	834,906	131,402	131,402	975,503	154,589	154,589	9.7	15.6	15.8	36	37
Arkansas	435,951	45,246	45,246	774,575	34,540	34,540	913,949	73,345	73,345	10.4	4.5	8.0	27	29
Florida	253,116	16,886	16,886	410,992	31,434	31,434	552,406	32,544	32,544	6.6	7.6	5.9	31	27
Georgia	562,882	34,480	34,480	998,037	64,733	64,733	1,075,369	68,460	68,460	6.1	6.5	6.4	38	39
Kentucky	445,909	4,500	4,500	802,948	4,690	4,690	931,147	11,152	11,152	1.0	.6	1.2	6	4
Louisiana	362,919	21,773	21,773	655,534	37,550	37,550	751,867	40,486	40,486	6.0	5.7	5.4	41	45
Maryland	264,493	1,475	1,475	370,921	5,398	5,398	389,771	9,464	9,464	.5	1.5	2.4	18	19
Mississippi	516,549	55,292	55,292	892,121	87,284	87,284	1,043,660	111,864	111,864	10.8	9.8	10.6	52	56
Missouri	475,775	2,200	2,200	746,129	.....	.....	922,275	2,400	2,400	.5	.....	2.6	3	3
N. Carolina	623,735	36,548	36,548	1,019,519	73,498	73,498	1,233,234	111,662	111,662	5.9	7.3	9.0	29	31
Oklahoma	500,280	29,141	29,141	723,564	34,658	34,658	889,575	35,310	35,310	5.8	4.8	4.0	7	8
S. Carolina	416,217	16,233	16,233	603,319	42,052	42,052	703,398	61,602	61,602	3.9	7.0	8.7	48	55
Tennessee	413,287	6,800	6,800	809,110	25,500	25,500	922,684	43,685	43,685	1.6	3.2	4.7	14	14
Texas	980,050	63,624	63,624	1,714,749	112,227	112,227	2,044,180	158,524	158,524	6.5	6.6	7.7	15	18
Virginia	508,653	44,759	44,759	802,010	52,998	52,998	930,695	64,619	64,619	8.8	6.6	6.9	27	27
W. Virginia	368,807	5,735	5,735	464,767	3,695	3,695	515,545	8,130	8,130	1.6	.8	1.6	7	9
TOTAL	\$ 7,613,801	\$ 431,502	\$12,623,200	\$ 741,660	\$14,795,257	\$ 987,836	5.7	5.9	6.7	24	27			

^a Expenditure data from Cooperative Extension Service; population data from Negroes in the United States: 1920-32, pp. 52-3.

Objection may be raised to the preceding analyses of expenditures on the ground that the total amounts reported include funds for administration, printing, distribution of publications, and the services of subject matter specialists; that expenditures for these purposes are of benefit to both white and Negro clients. Even though it is apparent that inclusion of such expenditures, which approximate only about 15 per cent of the total, could not greatly alter the general picture of inequality here revealed, there is some validity to this objection. It is desirable, therefore, to determine the extent to which there has been an equitable distribution of extension funds exclusive of those for administration, printing, specialists, etc. Such an analysis is here made on the basis of 1940 expenditures.

Table 11 shows that net expenditures during 1940 for extension work in 15 of the southern states, exclusive of funds for administration, printing, specialists, etc., amounted to \$10,863,370. On the basis of the proportion Negroes constitute of the total farm population, some 26.7 per cent of this amount, or \$2,900,520, should have been spent for extension work with Negroes. It may be seen from Table 12, however, that only \$960,487 was actually spent for extension work with Negroes, representing only about 35 per cent of the amount that should have been so expended. Thus, there was diverted from work with Negroes to work with the white population the tremendous sum of \$1,900,033. Had this amount been devoted to Negro work, as equity would seem to require, the extent of services to the Negro population would have been more than twice as great as they actually were.

TABLE 11. Expenditures that Should Have Been Made for Negro Extension Work (Exclusive of Administration, Printing, Specialists, etc.) on the Basis of Their Proportion of the Farm Population, by States, for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1940.^a

State	Grand Total Expended	Expenditures for Administration, Specialists, etc.	Net Expenditures (Excluding Admin., etc.)	Percent Negro of Farm Pop.	Amt. that Should Have Been Expended on Negro Work
Alabama	\$ 938,015.02	\$ 186,429.93	\$ 751,585.09	37.2	\$ 277,589.65
Arkansas	902,402.37	110,849.06	791,653.31	29.1	230,342.01
Florida	454,858.61	101,116.49	353,742.12	27.4	96,925.34
Georgia	1,073,705.71	149,154.15	924,551.56	39.3	363,348.76
Kentucky	919,526.60	179,877.05	739,649.55	4.1	30,325.63
Louisiana	750,991.85	154,440.66	596,551.19	45.0	268,448.04
Maryland	366,259.34	249,181.30	117,078.04	18.7	22,010.67
Mississippi	1,038,996.30	237,151.25	801,845.05	53.1	449,835.07
N. Carolina	1,212,779.96	237,190.57	975,589.39	31.1	303,408.30
Oklahoma	870,639.22	162,495.47	708,143.75	7.8	55,235.21
S. Carolina	694,640.02	189,184.44	505,455.58	54.5	275,473.29
Tennessee	928,423.87	183,546.76	744,877.11	14.4	107,262.30
Texas	2,021,170.49	288,198.88	1,732,971.61	17.5	303,270.03
Virginia	921,190.71	193,853.23	727,337.48	27.3	198,563.13
W. Virginia	508,587.32	116,147.71	392,439.61	0.9	3,531.96
Total	\$13,602,187.39	\$ 2,738,816.95	\$10,863,370.44	26.7	\$2,900,519.91 ^b

^a Data supplied by Extension Service, United States Department of Agriculture.

^b Not the total for this column, but 26.7 per cent of the "Net Expenditures."

By the same procedures, using the ratio of Negro to total rural population (24.1 per cent) as a basis, the sum that should have been spent in these 15 states for Negro work during 1940 amounts to \$2,618,072. On this basis, considering the actual expenditures of \$960,487, the sum diverted from extension work with Negroes amounts to \$1,657,585. Thus, on either basis of calculation, and even when funds for administration, printing, specialists, etc., are excluded from consideration entirely, it is seen that during 1940 these 16 southern states spent for extension work among Negroes an amount which was between \$1,500,000 and \$2,000,000 less than an equitable division of funds would have provided.

Table 12 shows that there is wide variation among the several southern states in the extent of racial inequality in the division of extension funds. West Virginia spent proportionately more for Negro extension work than was required to satisfy the Negro-total farm population ratio criterion. In the other 14 states, the amounts actual-

ly spent approximated the amounts that "should have been spent" by from 15 per cent to 65 per cent. Eight of the states spent less than one-third as much as equity would seem to demand. In four states—Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana—corresponding proportions were one-fourth or less. This is, indeed, an unhappy picture of general and gross racial discrimination in the distribution of funds for cooperative extension work in the South.

TABLE 12. Amount of Expenditures (Exclusive of Administration, Printing, Specialists, etc.) Diverted from Extension Work Among Negroes, by States, for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1940.^a

State	Amount that Should Have Been Spent on Negro Work ^b	Amount Spent On Negro Work	Amount Diverted from Negro Work	Percent Amount Spent Was of Amount that Should Have Been Spent on Negro
Alabama	\$ 277,589.65	\$ 153,304.00	\$ 124,285.65	55
Arkansas	230,342.01	63,700.00	166,642.01	28
Florida	96,925.34	33,576.00	66,349.34	35
Georgia	363,348.76	68,280.00	295,068.76	19
Kentucky	30,325.63	8,990.00	21,335.63	30
Louisiana	268,448.04	40,336.00	228,112.04	15
Maryland	22,010.67	9,420.00	12,590.67	43
Mississippi	449,835.07	114,292.00	335,543.07	25
North Carolina	303,408.30	96,307.56	207,100.74	32
Oklahoma	55,235.21	36,164.24	19,070.97	65
South Carolina	275,473.29	61,514.00	213,959.29	22
Tennessee	107,262.30	46,600.00	60,662.30	44
Texas	303,270.03	157,647.08	145,622.95	52
Virginia	198,563.13	64,026.00	134,537.13	32
West Virginia	3,531.96	6,330.00	+ 2,798.04	179 ^d
Total	\$ 2,900,519.91 ^c	\$ 960,486.88	\$ 1,900,033.03	35

^a Data supplied by Extension Service, United States Department of Agriculture.

^b See Table 11.

^c See footnote "b," Table 11.

^d The high percentage ratio for West Virginia is largely a function of the fact that Negroes in that State constitute less than one per cent of the farm population.

This markedly inequitable division of funds for extension work operates, of course, severely to limit the number of Negro agents employed. Other similarly limiting effects are revealed by interviews with Negro extension agents in various parts of the South, and by the responses of agents to the inquiry form used in this study.

In the *first* place, the salaries of Negro agents are generally much lower than those of white agents in the same counties. *Second*, whereas travel expenses for white agents are generally paid out of public funds for extension work, there are many counties in which Negro agents must bear such expenses, in whole or in part, out of their meager salaries. *Third*, whereas white agents are generally provided with office space, clerical assistance, supplies and equipment, these essentials are frequently available to Negro agents only at their own expense. All of these conditions result directly from racial inequalities in the distribution of funds for extension work. Their net effect is seriously to limit the extent and quality of services available to the Negro population.

One explanation frequently given for the relatively small appropriations made for extension work with Negroes is that in some states and counties it is particularly difficult to obtain local funds for this purpose. The special report on "Extension Work with Negroes" cites Georgia as a notable example of this problem. That State, the report asserts:

. . . has the smallest extension appropriation from State sources of any of the 15 Southern States and most of the moneys for offset to Federal extension funds come from county appropriations made specifically for the employment of white . . . agents. It is difficult to obtain county appropriations for the employment of Negro agents in that State and even though such funds were available, lack of Federal or State funds would permit little expansion in any line of extension work at the present time.¹⁹

This difficulty is probably reflected, to some extent, in the fact that proportionately more of the money spent for extension work among Negroes comes from federal funds than is true for grand total expenditures. In the case of funds for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, for example, 64 per cent of the \$15,137,175 allotted for all extension work in the 16 southern states is derived from federal appropriations. The corresponding proportion of the \$1,042,155 allotted for work with Negroes is 80 per cent.²⁰ It may be that difficulty of obtaining local funds for extension work with Negroes has given rise to a tendency to finance such work very largely from federal funds.

The fact that this problem exists, and the further important fact that it is by no means universal, may be seen from the replies of

¹⁹It should be noted that the Smith-Lever and Capper-Ketcham Acts require that all federal funds authorized in addition to the flat-grant allotments for each state must be "matched," dollar for dollar, by funds from state and local sources. Reference in the quotation to "moneys for offset to Federal extension funds" relates to the state and local "matching" funds required to obtain additional federal money. This matching principle does not obtain in the case of Bankhead-Jones Act appropriations, from which most federal funds for extension work now come.

²⁰Calculations based upon data from the Cooperative Extension Service.

extension agents in the sample group of counties here surveyed to the following question:

It has been said that one important reason for the relatively small number of Negro extension agents is the difficulty in getting county funds provided for extension work with Negroes. Is this true in your county?

Direct answers to this question were received for 16 counties in 11 states. These responses are recorded below.

State	County	Responses
Louisiana	G	Not familiar with county funds of the Parish. My salary is sent directly from Extension Department.
	F	No. Parish School Board pays one-sixth of Negro agent's salary.
Kentucky	D	No. There is no incentive to get such (county) money since the Negro agent's salary is reduced by the University of Kentucky to take up such money.
	E	No. The few influential Negro farmers can just about get the County to do anything they request.
Maryland	H	Partly true. There are usually one or more members not very intelligent.
Mississippi	I	Yes. Efforts have been put forth to have a Negro home demonstration agent appointed and paid—without success.
S. Carolina	L	No.
Texas	M	Yes. There is difficulty in getting county funds, and whenever the County has financial difficulties, the question of retaining the Negro agents always arises.
Virginia	N	No. It is more difficult to get State and Federal funds.
W. Virginia	P	Yes. An application has been made for county funds, but nothing has been appropriated for the work.
	Q	No attempt has been made to secure county funds.
N. Carolina	R	No.
	S	Yes, this is partly true.
Arkansas	A	It is true in this County and 26 others that are heavily populated with Negro farm families.

State	County	Responses
Florida	B	Yes. Need of county support has to be proven to county officials. This is a difficult task, and requires cooperation of white agent. It took two years to get any salary support from "B" County.
	C	Yes. County commissioners are beginning to see the value of Negro extension work.

It will be noted that special difficulty in obtaining local funds for Negro work is reported for only about one-half of the counties surveyed. Thus, although there can be little doubt that this is a special problem in the financing of Negro extension work in many areas, it by no means affords a complete explanation for the gross and almost universal racial inequalities which characterize the distribution of extension funds in the southern states.

The fundamental explanation of the situation here revealed inheres, of course, in the structure of southern society. As in most realms of social, economic and political life, so in the cooperative extension program, the Negro people are relegated to a caste-like status of inferiority. This is neither new nor surprising. Its major significance from the point of view of this study lies in the fact that the extremely undemocratic practices which characterize the distribution of extension funds and services to Negroes in the South are carried on primarily with money from the Federal Government.

V. FEDERAL POLICY

The basic premise of American democracy is equality of opportunity. It is in this principle that federal subsidies for education, including the Cooperative Extension Service, find their most fundamental validation. In view of this fact, it is the clear responsibility of the Federal Government to accompany its financial assistance for education in the states with such controls as may be required to insure that federal funds are used to promote, rather than to negate, equality of educational opportunity.

It has here been shown conclusively that federal funds for cooperative extension work in the southern states are, and for a long time have continued to be, so administered as to limit severely the extent to which the Negro people are able to participate in the benefits of this adult education program. Even in times of peace, this situation represented a flagrant negation of the democratic principle, and warranted strong measures of correction. Now, when the nation is confronted by the greatest crisis in its history, the need for such corrective measures is more urgent than ever before.

The "Food for Victory" program of the Department of Agriculture *must* succeed if our nation is to triumph in this war. The suc-

cess of that program depends very largely upon the extent to which the Cooperative Extension Service is able to mobilize *all* the farmers of the nation for the greatest food-production enterprise in history. To the extent that millions of Negro farmers in the South continue to be denied the stimulation and guidance of the Cooperative Extension Service, just to that extent will the "Food for Victory" program fail to achieve its crucially important objectives.

It is clearly essential for the welfare of the nation that the authority of the Federal Government be used promptly to correct those discriminatory practices which operate to prevent the full participation of Negro farmers in the Cooperative Extension Service, and thus, seriously to limit their effectiveness in the all-important "Food for Victory" campaign. The necessity for such action no longer stems primarily from the demands of democratic justice; it now inheres in the imperative requirements of victory.

There are two general approaches by which the Federal Government can, and should, enhance the more equitable and necessary participation of Negroes in the Cooperative Extension Service. One calls for legislative action, and is a responsibility of Congress; the other calls for executive action and is a responsibility of the United States Secretary of Agriculture and his staff. Brief attention is here given to the most important of these two types of corrective measures.

Legislative Measures ²¹

Federal funds for the Cooperative Extension Service are administered by the land-grant colleges of the several states. In each of the southern states there are at least two such institutions, one for white students and one for Negroes. In apparent recognition of this fact, the Smith-Lever Act directs that

In any state in which two or more such colleges have been or hereafter may be established the appropriations hereinafter made to such state shall be administered by such college or colleges as the legislature of such state may direct . . .²²

Although the states had, and still have, clear authority under the law to provide for participation by Negro land-grant colleges in administering the funds, without exception they delegated this responsibility to their white institutions. This fact is probably not unrelated to the marked neglect of extension work among Negroes.

During the Senate debate on the Smith-Lever Bill, Senator Jones, of Washington, tried vainly to insert an amendment to insure that

²¹The discussion in this and the following section includes extensive, but not designated, quotations from: Doxey A. Wilkerson, "The Participation of Negroes in the Federally-Aided Program of Agricultural and Home Economics Extension," *Journal of Negro Education*, 7:331-44, July, 1938.

²²Public No. 95, 63rd Congress, Section 1 (Cf. also the several extensions of this Act.)

rural Negroes would share equitably in the extension program. In lieu of that clause of the bill quoted above, he would have substituted a requirement that the legislatures of states maintaining separate white and Negro land-grant colleges propose to, and have approved by, the Secretary of Agriculture

a just and equitable division of the appropriation . . . between one college for white students and one institution for colored students . . .²³

In view of the experience of Negroes with several earlier land-grant college funds, Senator Jones predicted that without such an amendment, there would be marked neglect of extension work among the rural Negro population.

During the heated debate over the proposed amendment, Senator Smith, of Georgia, one of the sponsors of the bill, was queried concerning how this state would have the funds administered if the bill were not amended. He replied:

I will tell the Senator frankly what we will do with it. We will put it in our white agricultural college. We would not appropriate a dollar in Georgia to undertake to do extension work from the Negro agricultural and mechanical college . . .²⁴

To which Senator Cummings, of Iowa, responded:

. . . The State of Georgia gets a proportion of this appropriation based upon a rural colored population of more than 900,000. In getting that appropriation a colored person has just as much influence as a white man; but having gotten it, according to the Senator's own statements, the State of Georgia is to spend vastly less per person in the education of the colored race than in the education of its white race.²⁵

The accuracy of Senator Smith's prediction concerning the administration of extension funds in Georgia—and practically all other southern states—is a matter of record. Further, the validity of the proposed amendment and of Senator Cummings' argument in its behalf has been abundantly attested by nearly three decades of experience.

Just such safeguards for Negro education as Senator Jones proposed for the Smith-Lever Bill have been written into law by Congress in three different land-grant college acts—Second Morrill Act (1890), Nelson Amendment (1907), and Bankhead-Jones Act, Title II, Section 22 (1935). Each of these federal laws authorizes appropriations for general instruction, administration and permanent im-

²³Congressional Record, 63rd Congress. Second Session, February 5, 1914, pp. 2929-2948.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

provements in the land-grant colleges of the several states. Each act further provides that there must be a "just and equitable division of the fund" between the separate white and Negro institutions in a given state. The funds so authorized, unique among all federal educational subsidies, have continuously been divided *proportionately* between white and Negro land-grant colleges.²⁶

In the light of more than half a century of experience with the legislative requirement that there be a "just and equitable" division of federal funds for resident instruction and administration in the white and Negro land-grant colleges of the South, it is reasonable to expect that a similar requirement governing federal funds for extension work would operate greatly to enhance the participation of southern Negroes in the Cooperative Extension Service. It is important, therefore, that Congress so amend the Smith-Lever, Capper-Ketcham and Bankhead-Jones (Section 21) Acts as to achieve this end.

Even though federal funds for the Cooperative Extension Service are administered by land-grant colleges in the several states, there are considerations which make it probable that the particular legislative safeguard for Negroes in the Second Morrill and related Acts is neither adequate nor appropriate as an amendment to the Smith-Lever Act and its sequels. "In the first place, there are real advantages to be gained from centralized administration of extension work in a given State, chief among which is the development of a unified program for the State. It may be unwise, therefore, for Federal legislation to require that the two land-grant colleges in each southern State be made completely coordinate in the administration of Federal funds for extension work. Second, by virtue of the requirement that Federal grants for extension work be matched from State and local revenues, it is necessary that whatever agency administers the extension program appeal for funds not only to the State, but also to the several county governments. If two agencies, one the white land-grant college and the other the Negro land-grant college, were competing for appropriations from the counties for the employment of extension workers, it is questionable whether the counties would appropriate as much for extension work with Negroes as they now do under centralized administration. Finally, to require merely that Federal funds for extension work be divided proportionately between programs for the white and Negro populations would not assure such a division as regards expenditures from Federal, State, and local funds combined. It would be quite possible for a State to divide the Federal funds proportionately between the racial groups, and to devote all State and local funds to work with the white population alone. In fairness not only to the Negro people of the South but also to the people of the entire Nation from whom Federal extension funds are derived, it is important that a legislative pro-

²⁶See: Doxey A. Wilkerson, *Special Problems of Negro Education*, op. cit., pp. 77-82.

vision be enacted which will prevent the administration of State and local extension funds in a manner that will nullify efforts to secure an equitable distribution of Federal funds.

"In the light of these considerations, it would seem desirable, first, to leave central administrative control of the extension program in the white land-grant colleges of the South. Second, Federal laws authorizing grants for extension work should be so amended as to require, in States which maintain separate schools and institutions for Negroes, an equitable division of Federal funds between programs for the white and Negro populations . . . Third, Federal grants should be conditioned upon the expenditure for work with Negroes of a proportion of the total State and local extension funds which is at least as great as in some given year . . . By the last-mentioned provision, the Federal Government would not be forcing the Southern States to distribute their State and local extension funds proportionately for work with the two racial groups. Rather, the provision would require merely that, in administering a unified extension program, two-thirds of the support for which comes from Federal funds to be expended equitably between the two races, there shall be no greater discrimination in the expenditure of State and local funds than obtained during some specified year in the past. This would seem to be a justifiable minimum requirement by the Federal Government as a protection of its very substantial contributions for the extension work with rural citizens in the South."²⁷

Administrative Measures

In addition to the need for federal legislative action, there is need for the exercise of already existing federal administrative authority which could do much to further the more equitable participation of Negroes in the Cooperative Extension Service. Even without additional legislative authorization, there are several important steps which the Secretary of Agriculture could, and should, take substantially to correct the gross and continuing neglect of extension services among Negroes in the South.

In the *first* place, approval of "state plans" for extension work should be conditioned upon their inclusion of definite provisions for progressive *relative* improvement in extension programs for Negroes in the South. Under existing federal legislation, the Secretary of Agriculture has, and exercises, the authority to approve "state plans" for the conduct of extension work, and, once such plans have been approved, to certify the states for receipt of federal funds. By virtue of this authority, he is in position to exert considerable influence in the determination of state policies for extension work. That influence could, and should, be used to the end of expanding and improving the quality of extension services to Negroes in the Southern States.

²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 122-24.

Among the provisions which the Secretary of Agriculture should require to be included in "state plans" are measures which call for: (1) substantial *proportionate* increases in the number of Negro extension agents and in expenditures for extension work among Negroes; (2) progressive up-grading in the training and other qualifications of Negro extension agents; (3) equalizing the salaries of equally qualified white and Negro agents; (4) extending to Negro agents whatever travel-expense policies apply to white agents; and (5) substantially enhancing the availability of office space, clerical assistance, supplies and equipment for Negro agents. It should not be expected that the gross racial inequalities which now characterize extension programs in the Southern States can be eliminated completely in a few years. It should be expected, and required, however, that in order for a southern state to obtain approval of its plan for the conduct of federally-aided extension work in any given year, it must include in that plan definite measures looking toward gradual and substantial expansion and improvement in its program of extension services to Negroes.

Second, reports published by the Department of Agriculture describing the nature, extent and conduct of cooperative extension work in the several states should include a racial break-down of information for the southern states. Especially should these reports publish separate information on the number of white and Negro agents employed and on expenditures for extension services with the two racial groups. It is true that such information can now be obtained from the Cooperative Extension Service through special request. It should be made readily available, however, to the general public. Merely to publish the facts would probably do much to stimulate the development of more adequate and more equitable programs of extension work among Negroes.

Third, the services of Negro land-grant colleges should be utilized in the general planning and supervision of extension work among Negroes. One of the major difficulties at the present time is that the already over-burdened extension-work staffs associated with the white land-grant colleges find it extremely easy to neglect careful planning and supervision of Negro work. In many southern areas, according to reports received in connection with this inquiry, the Negro agent seldom participates in the formulation of plans even for his own county. This lack of definite planning and adequate supervision, with its inevitable consequences for extension work among Negroes, could largely be corrected by the establishment of cooperative arrangements between the white and Negro land-grant colleges, with the mutual understanding that general supervisory responsibility for the conduct of extension work among Negroes shall rest primarily with the Negro institution. Such cooperative arrangements have already been effected in the State of Texas. The Department of Agriculture should seek to promote such developments in other Southern States.

Finally, let it here be emphasized, once again, that such legisla-

tive and administrative measures as are here proposed can no longer be viewed solely in terms of their implications for the Negro people. In the crisis which now confronts America, they have emerged to a new plane of significance for the welfare of the entire nation. Measures to effect the fuller participation of Negroes in the Cooperative Extension Service must now be viewed as a necessary means for winning the war. Promptly to institute such measures is an urgent war-time responsibility of the Federal Government.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

EXTENSION WORK AMONG NEGROES

(Confidential Report)

County for which report is made.....State.....

A. Number of Agents in Relation to Need

1. Number of extension agents:

	White	Negro
a. Farm demonstration agents
b. Assistant farm demonstration agents
c. Home demonstration agents
d. Assistant home demonstration agents
e. Boys' and girls' club agents
f. Assistant boys' and girls' club agents

2. Approximate number of farm families in the county:

	White	Negro
a. Owners
b. Renters
c. Croppers
d. Others
Total

3. (a) About what percentage of the above total farm families *could* profit from the services of farm and home demonstration agents?

Could profit by farm demonstration services:

Percent of white families .....	.....
Percent of Negro families .....	.....

Could profit from home demonstration services:

Percent of white families .....	.....
Percent of Negro families .....	.....

(b) What are the chief reasons for saying that other families (if any) could *not* profit from farm and home demonstration services? Explain fully.

4. About how many additional farm and home and boy-girl agents are *needed* in county?

	White	Negro
a. Additional farm agents needed
b. Additional home agents needed
c. Additional boys-girls agents needed

On what bases do you justify the above estimates of need? Explain fully.

5. Is the need for extension services in the county met about as fully for Negroes as for whites? Explain fully and justify your answer.

B. Interracial Extension Services

6. During the past year, about how many Negro families received direct services from white agents, and how many white families received direct services from Negro agents? Indicate below.

- a. Negro families served directly by white farm agents.. ..
- b. Negro families served directly by white home agents.. ..
- c. White families served directly by Negro farm agents.. ..
- d. White families served directly by Negro home agents.. ..

7. (a) How does it happen (if it does) that white agents serve Negro families?

- (b) How does it happen (if it does) that Negro agents serve white families?

8. (a) Do WHITE agents serve NEGRO families in the following ways? Check to indicate.

Type of Service	White Farm Agents Serve Negroes			White Home Agents Serve Negroes		
	Not at all	Rare- ly	Fre- quent- ly	Not at all	Rare- ly	Fer- quent- ly
(1) Through bulletins, circulars, etc.
(2) Through motion pictures, film strips, etc.
(3) Through conferences, meetings, etc.
(4) Through direct contact, demonstrations on farm or home, etc.

- (b) What difference is there from the extent of such services:

By NEGRO agents to WHITE families (farm demonstration)?

By NEGRO agents to WHITE families (Home demonstration)?

9. (a) Describe in general terms the nature of services (if any) rendered Negro families by white agents.
- (b) Describe in general terms the nature of services (if any) rendered white families by Negro agents.
10. (a) About what percentage of the time of white agents is devoted to service to Negro families?.....%
- (b) About what percentage of the time of Negro agents is devoted to service to white families?.....%
11. It has been said that, despite the relatively small number of Negro extension agents, the services given Negroes by white agents just about equalize the benefits of the program for white and Negro families.
 - (a) Is this true in the county for which this report is made? Explain fully.
 - (b) Is it true for any other county in the State that you know about? If so, name the county and explain.
12. (a) About how many times during the past year were the services of State subject matter specialists used:

By Negro farm agents?.....

My Negro home agents?.....
- (b) Why were such services not used more often by Negro agents?
- (c) Describe in general terms the nature and extent of services (if any) rendered to Negro extension agents by State subject matter specialists.

C. Relations Between White and Negro Agents

13. (a) Check below to indicate the nature of the administrative or supervisory relationship between white and Negro extension agents.

Type of Relationship	Farm Agents	Home Agents	Boy-Girl Agents
(1) Negro equal to or coordinate with white
(2) Negro subordinate to white
(3) White subordinate to Negro
(4) Specify other:

- (b) Explain more fully the relationship between white and Negro agents, so far as administrative and supervisory matters are concerned. Illustrate.

- (c) Do white and Negro agents work together cooperatively? Explain and illustrate.

14. To what extent do Negro agents participate in formulating plans for extension work in the county? Explain fully.

D. Finances

15. (a) Indicate below the annual salaries of white and Negro agents.

	White	Negro
a. Farm demonstration agent
b. Assistant farm agent
c. Home demonstration agent
d. Assistant home agent
e. Boys'-girls' club agent
f. Assistant boys'-girls' agent

- (b) What justification (if any) is given for racial differences in salary?

16. Does the county extension service or the agent himself pay for the following types of expenses? (Indicate by cross-marks).

	For White Agents		For Negro Agents	
	Paid by	Paid by	Paid by	Paid by
	County	Agent	County	Agent
a. Travel
b. Office rent
c. Office supplies and equipment
d. Clerical assistance (typing, etc.)

Supply any explanation necessary for understanding the above.

17. The Cooperative Extension Service is financed by Federal funds, state funds, and county funds. It has been said that one important reason for the relatively small number of Negro extension agents is the difficulty in getting county funds provided for extension work with Negroes.

(a) Is this true in your county? Explain fully. Illustrate.

(b) Is it true in any other county in the State of which you know? If so, name the county and explain fully.

18. Please add any further comments which will describe and explain whatever differences there are in the degree to which the extension service is of benefit to white and Negro families.

Report based upon interviews with:

Name

Position

Name

Position

Other basis

Report submitted by:

Name

Position

College

Date

APPENDIX B

EXTENSION WORK WITH NEGROES*

Cooperative extension work in agriculture and home economics, as it is known today, had its beginning in the farmers' cooperative demonstration work begun in Texas in 1904, with funds of the Department of Agriculture, to combat the ravages of the Mexican cotton boll weevil. From the inception of the work considerable attention has been given to Negro farmers and their families by the white agents, and from the beginning white and Negro farmers were alike enrolled as cooperators and demonstrators. Even before any Negro agents were appointed, a conservative estimate would be that 25 percent of the white agents' time was given to aiding the Negro farmers in the thickly settled Negro communities. Within a few years, Negro local agents began to be employed in counties with large Negro farm populations, the first two such agents being appointed in 1906.

Negro home demonstration work was developed also through the interest and aid of the white agents and many white home demonstration agents carried on extension activities with Negro women and girls in their counties. As the work developed, however, it soon became apparent that Negro women agents could get access to Negro homes better than anybody else, so Negro home demonstration agents began to be appointed in those counties having a large Negro farm population. The first two such agents were appointed in 1912.

From the beginning, extension work with Negroes has never been considered as a parallel service along racial lines, but as an integral part of the whole extension program looking toward the betterment of all farmers and their families regardless of race or color. The services of white extension agents have been and are now available to farm families of both races seeking information and advice in solving their farm and home problems. Agricultural extension work carried on with Negro farm families is identical with the work among the whites insofar as conditions justify.

The Smith-Lever Act of 1914, which placed cooperative extension work on a national basis, states as its object, "To aid in diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics, and to encourage the application of the same." The Extension Service, therefore, is an organization to serve **all** rural people, and its endeavor is to use the funds available to it to get maximum efficiency and maximum returns.

The development of the cooperative agricultural extension sys-

*This statement was issued in February, 1941, by Hon. Claude Wickard, U. S. Secretary of Agriculture. It is here reproduced for study in connection with the report prepared by Mr. Wilkerson for the Conference of Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges.

tem has been predicated on placing a technically trained agricultural extension agent and home demonstration agent in each rural county of the United States where there is sufficient farming population to justify the expenditure required, supplemented by assistant county agricultural agents, assistant home demonstration agents, and Negro agents in counties where there is adequate need for the service of such agents and where sufficient funds are available. Cooperative agricultural extension work, as its name implies, is a cooperative educational service financed by the Federal Government, the States, and the counties. County cooperation in making funds available is a requisite in all States for the employment of agents, and in counties it is sometimes difficult to obtain local funds to aid in the employment of an agricultural agent and a home demonstration agent. Negro extension agents are employed to supplement the whole extension program, their particular function being, of course, to intensify agricultural extension work with members of their own race. In determining the need in counties for Negro extension agents consideration is given to the number of Negro farm families to be served, the type of farming in the county, and the use Negroes may be able to make of the services of Negro agents. Local offices and an appropriation of a reasonable amount of county funds are also deemed necessary.

All factors considered, extension work with Negroes is making steady and substantial progress yearly. In 1915, the first year in which the Smith-Lever Act was in effect, 49 Negro men agents and 17 Negro women agents were employed. On January 1, 1941, there were 271 Negro men agents, 223 Negro women agents, 39 Negro supervisors and 6 4-H Club leaders working in 390 counties in the 15 Southern States. (The distribution of workers by States and counties is shown on Table I, attached.)

Negro farm families are not uniformly distributed in any State but are generally concentrated in certain sections and communities. Of the 1,385 counties in the 15 Southern States, 291 counties have more than 1,000 Negro farm families; 203 have between 500 and 1,000 Negro farm families; 338 have from 100 to 500 Negro farm families, and 553 have less than 100 Negro farm families. Three of the States, Kentucky, Maryland and West Virginia, have no counties with over 1,000 Negro farm families. The largest number of Negro farm families in any county in Kentucky is 812; in Maryland 723, and in West Virginia 121. (See Table II, attached.)

A study of Negro farm family distribution in relation to the number of Negro agricultural extension workers now employed shows that of the 291 counties with over 1,000 Negro farm families, 213 now have the services of Negro extension workers; of the 203 counties with from 500 to 1,000 Negro farm families, 100 now have the services of Negro extension workers, and of the 338 counties with from 100 to 500 Negro farm families, 55 now have the services of such workers. It is clearly not possible or advisable to maintain Negro extension agents in counties with but a few hundred Negro farm families. The

white agents, with the cooperation of the State Negro workers and Negro local leaders and farmer committeemen, must assume the obligation to give Negro farmers and their families in such areas the same opportunities as are given white people to take advantage of agricultural extension teaching. This they are generally doing.

White Agricultural Extension Workers Assist Negro Farm Families

As previously stated, since the inception of the work white agricultural extension workers have carried on a large amount of work with Negro farmers and their families in their respective counties. Therefore, in discussing extension work with Negroes, consideration must be given to the assistance rendered people of this race by the white agents.

In each State there is maintained at state extension headquarters an administrative staff, a publications staff, and a subject matter specialists staff, the services of all three of these divisions being available to white and Negro farmers and their families. Bulletins, circulars, motion pictures, film strips, charts, conferences, demonstrations, meetings and all other agricultural extension means and agencies are available to all farm people and are of equal effectiveness in influencing Negro farmers and families exposed to same. It is a very common thing to attend a meeting of farmers in a county with a large Negro population, called by the white extension agent, and find in attendance many more Negroes than whites.

Subject matter specialists assist the county agents, white and Negro, by keeping them informed on subject matter and extension methods, and assist with training agents. Practically all men and women specialists carry the Negro extension agents on their mailing lists to receive all circular letters and mimeographed material issued from their offices. They assist Negro agents at agents' conferences and meetings, at leader training meetings and demonstrations, in the preparation of subject matter, and through personal conferences. In cases where Negro agents have not received assistance from subject matter specialists it is usually because they have not requested assistance well in advance. A recent survey shows that individual specialists devote directly up to 20 percent, and indirectly much more of their time, to work with Negro agents. It should also be pointed out that the entire State staff of white subject matter specialists are subject to the call of both white and Negro agricultural extension agents by request in advance to the State Extension Directors.

White county agricultural agents in counties with no Negro agent report 27,059 Negro demonstrators and cooperators, 1,316 organized Negro groups regularly contacted, 24 Negro 4-H Clubs conducted, 62 Negro adult community clubs, 154 Negro agricultural committees, and 411 Negro local leaders. Negro farmers in their coun-

ties attend general agricultural meetings, call at their offices for information and advice, and they visit the Negro farmers officially. They work with both white and Negro farm families.

In counties which employ both a white and Negro agent there is excellent team work between the two. A conservative estimate of the amount of time devoted to Negro farmers and their families by white county agricultural agents runs from none in counties without Negro farm operators to as high as 65 percent in some counties with a very large Negro farm population.

White home demonstration agents in counties having Negro home demonstration agents report 3,597 demonstrators and cooperators, and counties without Negro home demonstration agents report 3,307. All agents report assistance given Negro women and their families in gardening, food preservation, nutrition, poultry, live-at-home programs, home improvement, health and sanitation, mattress making, clothing renovation, organization, and leader training. White and Negro home demonstration agents in the counties confer often as to plans of work and programs. The white agent assists the Negro agent in achievement and rally day meetings, in leader training schools, canning schools, in subject matter instruction, and in various other ways. An estimate of the time devoted to work with Negro women on the part of white home demonstration agents runs from none in counties having no Negro farm population up to 15 percent in counties having Negro farm families.

A recent study reveals that white agricultural extension workers are greatly interested in the welfare of rural Negroes and on the whole are trying to extend the benefits of agricultural extension work to all rural people through established demonstrations and other teaching methods. All white agents and subject matter specialists report that during the past six or seven years Negroes come to their offices more often for information and advice, attend public extension meetings of all kinds, and participate in every form of extension work in much larger numbers than in earlier years. This applies alike to counties with and counties without Negro extension agents.

Funds

The total extension budget for the fiscal year 1939-40 for work in the States having extension work with Negroes was \$13,602,187.39. There are, as would be expected, wide variations in the budgets as among the different States. Texas had the largest budget with \$2,021,170.49, and Maryland the smallest with 366,259.34. Of the entire budget, \$606,998.78 was for administration and publications, and \$2,060,175.36 for subject matter specialists, both of which items are expenditures at State headquarters. The total amount of funds used directly for the employment of Negro extension workers was \$954,744.88. Based on the percentages of time devoted to extension work with Negroes by white supervisors, specialists, and county agri-

cultural and home demonstration agents, the indirect funds spent for work with Negroes through the services of these white workers amounted to \$963,363.02, giving a total budget for extension work with Negroes in the 15 Southern States in the amount of \$1,918,107.90, or an average of 14.10 percent of the total extension budget for the Southern States. Thus it would seem, as shown by the 1935 Census, there has been made available for agricultural extension work with Negro farm families, who, including owners, part owners, tenants and sharecroppers, operate 9.47 percent of all land in farms in the 15 Southern States, 14.1 percent of the total appropriations for extension work in these States.

Needs

There has been discussion recently, both with individual State directors and with groups of directors, relative to the present status and future needs of extension work with Negroes. Directors in States having a large Negro farm population realize that there is a definite need for the employment of some additional Negro extension agents in counties with large Negro farm populations, and need for some further emphasis on the home demonstration phases of the work. It would be desirable to have at least one Negro extension agent to supplement the whole extension program in each county having over 1,000 Negro farm families, and perhaps to appoint Negro agricultural agents to serve in combinations of several counties having smaller numbers of Negro farm families, as has already been done in several States. Whether such additional agents should be agricultural agents or home demonstration agents would of course depend to a large extent on the type of farming in the county or counties to be served. In counties where a large majority of Negro farmers are tenants and croppers, a home demonstration agent, rather than an agricultural agent, could be in some cases of greater service in reaching the farm women and girls. The Negro tenant farmers and croppers might best receive aid on the agricultural side principally through the white agents working with the landlords and managers.

While realizing that there is need for further expansion in extension work with Negroes, it is also realized that such expansion can not be made without adequate funds to finance it. Because of the cooperative nature of the work, availability of State and county funds, in addition to Federal funds, is a factor which has to be considered. Each State has its own individual problems in connection with the financing of extension work. Georgia, for instance, has the smallest extension appropriation from State sources of any of the 15 Southern States and therefore most of the moneys for offset to Federal extension funds come from county appropriations made specifically for the employment of white county agricultural and home demonstration agents. It is difficult to obtain county appropriations for the employment of Negro agents in that State and even though such funds

were available, lack of Federal or State funds would permit little expansion in any line of extension work at the present time. More than one-third of the counties of the State are now without white home demonstration agents and although a number of additional counties are willing to put up their share of the necessary salaries of such agents, lack of funds from Federal and State sources prevent their employment.

In South Carolina the State law provides State funds to aid in the employment of a county agricultural agent and home demonstration agent in each county, but there is nothing in the law specifically authorizing the counties to make appropriations for the work, with the result that this State has the smallest amount of county appropriations of any of the 15 Southern States. Here, as can be understood, it is difficult to secure the necessary county funds for the employment of Negro agents.

The Extension Directors in the Southern States are fully sympathetic toward the needs of Negro farmers and their families and in their extension plans and programs are putting forth every effort to give all possible service to this group. Expansion in any line of work, however, necessarily is dependent on the availability of funds, and the extent of the need for such expansion.

TABLE I

EXTENSION WORK WITH NEGROES

Number of Negro Extension Workers as of January 1, 1941.

STATE	Total No. of Negro Workers	Supervisors, (State Agts., Dist. Agents, Movable School Leaders, etc.)	County Workers			No. counties with ser- vices Negro Agents	No. counties with both Co. and Home Dem. Agts.	No. of Coun- ties with ser- vices of one Agent		
			Co. Agt. Work	Home Dem. Work	Club Work			County Agent Work	Home Dem. Work	Club Work
Alabama	73	8	35	30	.....	40	37	2	1	.....
Arkansas	29	4	11	14	.....	16	10	1	5	.....
Florida	19	2	9	8	.....	14	4	6	4	.....
Georgia	50	4	22	24	.....	50	15	25	10	.....
Kentucky	7	1	4	2	.....	8	1	5	2	.....
Louisiana	20	1	12	7	.....	26	2	16	8	.....
Maryland	5	.....	2	8	.....	6	4	2	.....	.....
Mississippi	77	4	33	40	.....	49	24	9	16	.....
N. aCrolina	56	5	33	18	.....	33	18	15	.....	.....
Oklahoma	20	2	9	9	.....	9	9	.....	.....	.....
S. Carolina	37	2	19	16	.....	25	10	9	6	.....
Tennessee	21	3	10	8	.....	23	7	4	12	.....
Texas	87	5	46	36	.....	51	31	15	5	.....
Virginia	35	3	25	7	.....	35	1	28	6	.....
W. Virginia*	5	1	1	1	2	5	.....	.....	1	2
TOTALS	541	45	271	223	2	390	173	137	76	2

*West Virginia also has one County Agricultural Agent at-large, and one Club Agent at-large.

TABLE II

NUMBER OF COLORED FARM FAMILIES IN COUNTIES, AND NUMBER OF COUNTIES HAVING SERVICE OF NEGRO EXTENSION WORKERS^a

State	Number of Colored Farm Families in State	Number of Counties in State	Number of Counties with Colored Families, and number of such Counties having service of Negro Extension Workers							
			Over 1,000 farm families		500 to 1,000 farm families		100 to 500 farm families		Less than 100 farm families	
			Number Counties	Number with Negro Agents	Number Counties	Number with Negro Agents	Number Counties	Number with Negro Agents	Number Counties	Number with Negro Agents
Alabama	94,625	67	33	31	12	5	15	4	7	....
Arkansas	70,602	75	24	16	8	....	8	....	35	....
Florida	14,132	67	4	4	4	4	22	6	37	....
Georgia	87,832	159	27	17	47	18	61	15	24	1
Kentucky	9,368	120	....	....	1	1	32	6	87	....
Louisiana	72,023	64	27	21	11	4	19	....	7	....
Maryland	8,098	24	....	....	7	5	12	1	5	....
Mississippi	166,498	82	53	35	12	6	13	3	4	1
N. Carolina	75,816	100	31	21	20	9	34	3	15	....
Oklahoma	18,769	77	4	4	6	4	35	....	32	....
S. Carolina	83,740	46	38	23	7	2	1	....	....	....
Tennessee	35,260	95	9	7	10	3	23	4	53	9
Texas	78,532	254	30	24	29	20	29	7	166	....
Virginia	48,979	100	11	10	29	19	33	6	27	....
W. Virginia*	868	55	....	....	....	....	1	....	54	5
TOTALS	865,404	1,385	291	213	203	100	338	55	553	16

* West Virginia also has one County Agent at-large, and one Club Agent at-large.

Population figures from 1935 Census.

Personnel figures as of January 1, 1941.

(a) In the Census reports "Colored" includes Negroes, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and all other nonwhite races.

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